

Message Text

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TO USMISSION NATO
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 009708

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, NATO

SUBJECT: PREPARATIONS FOR BELGRADE: REVIEW OF
-- IMPLEMENTATION

REF: STATE 304584

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1. DEPARTMENT BELIEVES RECENT NATO MINISTERIAL PROVIDES
GOOD BASIS FOR ALLIES TO CARRY FORWARD THEIR DISCUSSIONS
OF PREPARATIONS FOR BELGRADE. THUS WE HAVE SOUGHT WITH
STATE 304584 TO STIMULATE ALLIED THINKING ON POSSIBLE
CONCRETE NEW PROPOSALS WHICH MIGHT BE PUT FORWARD IN
BELGRADE. AS A COROLLARY TO THIS, WE ALSO WISH TO FOCUS
ALLIED THINKING ON THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION WHICH WILL
BE THE CENTRAL FUNCTION OF THE BELGRADE MEETING. WE HOPE
TO ADVANCE ALLIED THINKING TOWARD CONSIDERATION OF THE
BEST MEANS FOR ACHIEVING OUR OBJECTIVES IN THE REVIEW OF

IMPLEMENTATION, INCLUDING NOT ONLY SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES TO RAISE AND POINTS TO MAKE BUT ALSO TACTICS FOR ACHIEVING THE MOST ADVANTAGEOUS PROCEDURAL ARRANGEMENTS.

2. OUR AIM IS TO STIMULATE CONSIDERATION OF THE PROBLEMS RELATED TO THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION IN NATO CAPITALS PRIOR TO NEXT MEETING OF EXPERTS, FEB. 7, TO ENSURE A

USEFUL DISCUSSION OF THESE MATTERS AT THAT TIME. WE HOPE TO ASSURE THAT ISSUES RELATING TO THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION, AS WELL AS INITIAL VIEWS ON POSSIBLE NEW PROPOSALS, ARE ADDRESSED IN SOME DEGREE OF SPECIFICITY IN THE NATO PAPER ON BELGRADE WHICH WILL BE DEVELOPED IN THE COMING MONTHS FOR PRESENTATION TO MINISTERS IN MAY.

3. ACCORDINGLY, AT NEXT REGULAR POLADS DISCUSSION OF CSCE/ BELGRADE, YOU SHOULD PRESENT THE FOLLOWING PAPER, NOTING THAT IT IS INTENDED SOLELY AS A STIMULUS TO ALLIED THINKING, AND INDICATING THAT WE WILL WELCOME ALLIED VIEWS. YOU SHOULD INDICATE THAT WE HOPE FOR AN INITIAL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THESE ISSUES PRIOR TO THE NEXT EXPERTS' MEETING, AND THAT THE EXPERTS CAN ADDRESS THESE QUESTIONS IN SOME DETAIL.

4. BEGIN TEXT.

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--BELGRADE--THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION--

IN OUR DEVELOPMENT OF AN ALLIED APPROACH TO BELGRADE, WE HAVE IDENTIFIED THE THREE PRINCIPAL FUNCTIONS OF THE FOLLOW-UP MEETING: REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION; CONSIDERATION OF NEW PROPOSALS; DECISION ON FURTHER FOLLOW-UP. OF THESE THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION REMAINS OUR NUMBER ONE PRIORITY, IN KEEPING WITH OUR LONG-STANDING POLICY OF SEEKING CONCRETE PROGRESS ON SPECIFIC STEPS WHICH WILL BENEFIT PEOPLE AS WELL AS GOVERNMENTS, AND OF PRESSING FOR COMPLIANCE WITH AGREED COMMITMENTS.

--IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE MEANING OF THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION, AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE CSCE, BE CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD. AS THE RESULT OF AN INTENSIVE THREE YEAR NEGOTIATION, THE FINAL ACT IS RICH IN SUBSTANTIVE COMMITMENTS.

HOWEVER, THE COMMITMENTS IN THE MOST SENSITIVE AREAS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND INFORMATION HAVE NOT BEEN CARRIED OUT, AND WE ARE STILL STRUGGLING WITH THE DIFFICULT PROBLEM OF HOW TO BRING ABOUT EASTERN COMPLIANCE. THIS PROBLEM IS OF COURSE NOT UNIQUE TO CSCE; IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO INFLUENCE SOVIET BEHAVIOR

ON HUMAN RIGHTS OR INFORMATION.

--THE BELGRADE FOLLOW-UP MEETING, AND PARTICULARLY THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION, WAS SEEN DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS, AND REMAINS NOW, AS AN IMPORTANT NEW INSTRUMENT

FOR THE WEST IN BRINGING PRESSURE TO BEAR FOR EASTERN COMPLIANCE WITH THEIR COMMITMENTS IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS AND OTHER CSCE FIELDS. IN OTHER WORDS, THE REVIEW ITSELF WILL ENTAIL NOTHING NEW IN TERMS OF SUBSTANCE; THE SUBSTANCE IS IN THE FINAL ACT, THE RESULT OF OUR LONG NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EAST. THE REVIEW IS RATHER A DEVICE
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--ONE OF THE FEW AVAILABLE TO US-- FOR BRINGING THE USSR AND EAST EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS CLOSER TO IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SUBSTANTIVE COMMITMENTS WE HAVE ALREADY OBTAINED FROM THEM. THE REVIEW WILL CONSTITUTE A SUMMING-UP OF PROGRESS REGISTERED TO DATE AND OF AREAS FOR FURTHER IMPROVEMENT. THE PRINCIPAL PRODUCT OF THE REVIEW WILL THUS BE ITS OVERALL POLITICAL IMPACT, WHICH WE WILL WANT TO GAUGE CAREFULLY.

--WE BELIEVE WE ARE NOW READY TO TAKE FURTHER STEPS IN PREPARATION FOR BELGRADE. WE HAVE ALREADY OFFERED SOME SUGGESTIONS TO STIMULATE THINKING ON POSSIBLE NEW PROPOSALS. THIS PAPER IS INTENDED TO DO THE SAME WITH REGARD TO THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION. IT SEEKS TO IDENTIFY OUR OBJECTIVES, EXAMINES THE POSSIBILITIES FOR ACTION, AND SETS OUT A NUMBER OF IDEAS WHICH HAVE ALREADY EMERGED FOR MEETING OUR OBJECTIVES. IT ATTEMPTS TO BUILD ON THE ALREADY AGREED GENERAL OBJECTIVES AND STRATEGY REFLECTED IN THE NATO PAPER ON BELGRADE, AND TO FOCUS MORE SPECIFICALLY ON THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION. WE HOPE IT WILL STIMULATE DISCUSSION OF THIS PROBLEM IN POLADS.

I. OBJECTIVES FOR THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION

1. OBTAIN MAXIMUM EASTERN COMPLIANCE WITH FINAL ACT PROVISIONS: OUR PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE IN THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION IS CLEARLY TO OBTAIN MAXIMUM FEASIBLE COMPLIANCE BY THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WITH THEIR UNDERTAKINGS IN CSCE, ESPECIALLY IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS AREA. OUR GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TO ENCOURAGE IMPLEMENTATION HAVE BEEN PRIVATE THUS FAR, BUT THE BELGRADE MEETINGS OFFER THE POSSIBILITY TO FOCUS OUR MULTIPLE DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS IN A BROADER FORUM WHICH IS MORE ACCESSIBLE TO PUBLIC AND PARLIAMENTARY SCRUTINY. INDEED, THE BELGRADE MEETINGS WILL BE CLOSELY WATCHED BY THE PUBLIC, AND THE PROCEEDINGS WILL BE KNOWN
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TO THE PRESS. FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES, THEREFORE, THE REVIEW WILL BE SIGNIFICANTLY PUBLIC, AND THE SOVIETS WILL CONSIDER IT SO.

2. DEVELOP PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR OUR CSCE POLICY: OUR SECOND OBJECTIVE IN THE REVIEW SHOULD BE TO BE SEEN BY OUR PUBLICS, PARLIAMENTS AND PRESS, AS WELL AS BY THE PEOPLES OF THE USSR AND EASTERN EUROPE, TO BE PRESSING FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT'S COMMITMENTS. THIS SHOULD HELP TO ENHANCE PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT FOR OUR APPROACH TO CSCE AND SHOULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE PRESSURES FELT BY THE EASTERN STATES TO TAKE POSITIVE IMPLEMENTATION ACTION.

3. ADVANCE WESTERN INTERPRETATION OF THE FINAL ACT: THIRDLY, THE REVIEW SHOULD BE USED TO ADVANCE OUR INTERPRETATION OF THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FINAL ACT: THAT PROGRESS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREER FLOW OF PEOPLE AND IDEAS IS A CRUCIAL ELEMENT OF FURTHER IMPROVEMENTS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS. PUBLIC DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN THE VALUES OF WESTERN AND COMMUNIST SOCIETIES IN TERMS OF SPECIFIC FINAL ACT COMMITMENTS WILL ALSO BE USEFUL, AND CAN HAVE A VALUABLE POLITICAL EFFECT OF ITS OWN.

II. POSSIBILITIES FOR ACTION

-- THE POSSIBILITIES FOR ACTION IN BELGRADE ARE OF COURSE LIMITED BY THE FACT THAT CONSENSUS WILL BE REQUIRED FOR ALL MEASURES--SUBSTANTIVE OR PROCEDURAL. THE SOVIETS ARE LIKELY TO RESIST ALL OF OUR AIMS AND THUS WE WILL INEVITABLY HAVE TO CONCENTRATE OUR TACTICAL EFFORTS ON MANEUVERING FOR PROCEDURAL ADVANTAGES WHICH WILL ENHANCE OUR ABILITY TO MEET OUR OBJECTIVES. IN THIS PROCESS, WE HAVE TWO REFERENCE DOCUMENTS WHICH ARE OF CONSIDERABLE VALUE: THE FINAL ACT AND THE HELSINKI BLUE BOOK (WHICH CONTAINS THE RULES OF PROCEDURE TO BE APPLIED MUTATIS CONFIDENTIAL

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MUTANDIS TO THE BELGRADE MEETINGS). WE SHOULD STICK AS CLOSELY AS WE CAN TO THE SPECIFIC WORDS AND PHRASES OF THESE DOCUMENTS IN ORDER TO ENHANCE THEIR AUTHORITY AS AGREED GUIDELINES, AND SHOULD REJECT ANY ATTEMPT TO REVISE THE FINAL ACT ITSELF.

-- IN PLANNING FOR THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION, WE NEED TO CONSIDER BOTH WHAT WE SHOULD SAY, AND HOW WE SHOULD ORGANIZE THE REVIEW SO THAT IT WILL BE MOST ADVANTAGEOUS TO US. TWO KEY QUESTIONS ARE: (A) HOW TO EXPLOIT EASTERN CONCERN OVER BEING PLACED IN THE DOCKET IN SUCH A WAY AS TO ENCOURAGE FURTHER IMPLEMENTATION BEFORE, DURING AND

AFTER BELGRADE, AND, (B) HOW TO MANAGE THE CONDUCT OF THE REVIEW TO ENSURE AGAINST UNDULY NEGATIVE FALLOUT ON OTHER ASPECTS OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS.

1. WHAT WE SHOULD SAY: SINCE THE FINAL ACT REFLECTS LARGELY WESTERN VALUES AND WESTERN INITIATIVES, THE OVERWHELMING BURDEN OF IMPLEMENTATION (ESPECIALLY IN BASKETS II AND III) IS ON THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. THE EASTERN STATES MAY ARGUE THAT THEY HAVE TAKEN A LARGER NUMBER OF IMPLEMENTATION STEPS SINCE HELSINKI THAN HAVE THE WESTERN COUNTRIES, AND DOUBTLESS THEY WILL MAKE THEIR OWN ACCUSATIONS OF WESTERN NONPERFORMANCE. WE SHOULD NOT BE PLACED ON THE DEFENSIVE BY THESE TACTICS. THE FINAL ACT LARGELY ENDORSES A STANDARD OF CONDUCT TO WHICH THE WEST HAS ADHERED FOR MANY YEARS. THE WESTERN RECORD ON IMPLEMENTATION IS VERY GOOD, AND IN ANY CASE INCOMPARABLY BETTER THAN THAT OF THE EASTERN STATES. THE EAST IS WELL AWARE OF THESE FACTS AND CLEARLY IS CONCERNED ABOUT BEING PLACED IN THE DEFENDANT'S BOX AT BELGRADE. WHILE WE HAVE NO WISH TO SEEK CONFRONTATION, SOME DISAGREEMENTS WOULD SEEM INEVITABLE BARRING DRAMATIC IMPROVMENT IN EASTERN IMPLEMENTATION IN THE NEXT SEVERAL MONTHS.

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--IT HAS ALREADY BEEN SUGGESTED IN THE COURSE OF OUR CONSULTATIONS THAT THE WESTERN DELEGATIONS SHOULD APPROACH THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION SUBJECT-BY-SUBJECT, BASED ON THE SUBJECT HEADINGS IN THE FINAL ACT. THUS, WESTERN DELEGATIONS WOULD DESCRIBE PRACTICES IN THEIR COUNTRIES WHICH RELATE TO CSCE PROVISIONS (E.G., NO EXIT VISAS), CALL ATTENTION TO THE MORE RESTRICTIVE PRACTICES OF COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS, AND INVITE THE EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES TO EXPLAIN THEIR PRACTICES IN THE SAME TERMS. WE CONSIDER THIS TO BE A GOOD BASIC APPROACH. WE WOULD WISH TO COVER THE FULL RANGE OF CSCE UNDERTAKINGS, ESPECIALLY FAMILY REUNIFICATION AND OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES WHICH ARE OF HIGH PUBLIC INTEREST. TO THIS END, ALLIES COULD REFER TO THE SPECIFIC FACTS OF THEIR RESPECTIVE NATIONAL EXPERIENCE WITH EASTERN COUNTRIES SINCE HELSINKI. MUCH OF THE SUBSTANTIVE MATERIAL FOR THIS TYPE OF PRESENTATION IS ALREADY INCLUDED IN OUR PERIODIC REPORTS ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION, WHICH WILL FORM INDISPENSABLE PRIVATE REFERENCE DOCUMENTS FOR USE IN BELGRADE.

--TO PREPARE FOR THIS TYPE OF PRESENTATION, WE SHOULD COMB THROUGH OUR IMPLEMENTATION REPORTS, IN RELATION TO THE FINAL ACT, AND BEGIN TO ASSEMBLE COMPREHENSIVE LISTS OF THEMES TO BE USED IN CONNECTION WITH EACH CSCE SUBJECT. THESE THEMES SHOULD IDENTIFY LINES OF ARGUMENTATION

WHICH CLEARLY SET OFF WESTERN PRACTICES FROM THOSE OF
THE COMMUNIST STATES, AND WHICH CAN BE ELABORATED BY

INDIVIDUAL WESTERN COUNTRIES TO SUIT THEIR OWN PARTICULAR
PRACTICES. FOR EXAMPLE, UNDER THE PRINCIPLE OF HUMAN
RIGHTS, AS WELL AS THE BASKET III PARAGRAPH ON RELIGIOUS
CONTACTS, WE COULD IDENTIFY THE THEME OF "NO RESTRICTIONS
ON RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES;" UNDER CBMS WE COULD IDENTIFY
SUCH THEMES AS "EXTENSION AND ACCEPTANCE OF OBSERVER
INVITATIONS" AND "NOTIFICATION OF SMALLER MANEUVERS."
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BY CONCENTRATING ON CLEAR AND UNDERSTANDABLE THEMES OF
THIS KIND, WHICH WILL RUN AS COMMON THREADS THROUGH ALL
OUR PRESENTATIONS, WE SHOULD CONTRIBUTE TO OUR OBJECTIVES
OF MAKING A CASE FOR FURTHER EASTERN IMPLEMENTATION, OF
HIGHLIGHTING AREAS WHERE PROGRESS IS
ESPECIALLY NEEDED AND OF GAINING PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING
AND SUPPORT FOR WESTERN POLICY. THIS APPROACH WILL ALSO
HELP TO DIFFERENTIATE BETWEEN WESTERN AND COMMUNIST
PRACTICE. OUR EFFORT TO DEVELOP THEMES SHOULD BE SUPPLE-
MENTED BY A BANK OF DATA AND STATISTICS ON ALL ISSUES
RELEVANT TO CSCE. TO DATE WE HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO
DEVELOP SUCH DATA, BUT SHOULD CONSIDER WHAT INFORMATION
IS REQUIRED AND HOW IT CAN BE GATHERED IN A USEFUL FORM.

2. ORGANIZING THE REVIEW SO THAT IT WILL BE MOST
ADVANTAGEOUS TO US: THIS IS A MORE COMPLICATED QUESTION
BECAUSE MOST ASPECTS WILL HAVE TO BE NEGOTIATED WITH
THE SOVIETS, WHO WILL BE SEEKING VERY DIFFERENT OBJECTIVES.
PROCEDURES FOR THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION WILL ALSO
HAVE TO RECEIVE THE CONSENSUS OF ALL 35 PARTICIPANTS; FOR
EXAMPLE, WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT A SYSTEM WHICH PUTS
INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES FORMALLY IN THE DOCK WILL BE
ACCEPTABLE TO MANY STATES BECAUSE IT WILL BE SEEN AS
PLACING SOVEREIGN NATIONS IN AN UNDIGNIFIED POSITION.

A) PLENARY: THE MAIN MEETING WILL ALMOST INEVITABLY
BEGIN WITH AN INITIAL ROUND OF GENERAL DISCUSSION IN
PLENARY SESSION. THIS WILL ENTAIL SPEECHES, WITH RIGHT
OF REPLY, REBUTTALS, AND DEBATE. THE PRINCIPAL PROBLEM
WILL BE HOW TO STRUCTURE THIS GENERAL DEBATE SO AS TO
MEET THE OBJECTIVES SET OUT ABOVE. BEYOND THE OPENING
DEBATE, PLENARIES COULD BE USED, AS APPROPRIATE, TO
CONFIRM CONSENSUS REACHED IN COMMITTEES AND TO RECEIVE NEW
PROPOSALS.

B) COMMITTEES: THE INITIAL ROUND OF GENERAL DEBATE IN
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PLENARY SESSION SHOULD BE FOLLOWED BY MORE SPECIFICALLY FOCUSED DISCUSSIONS IN SPECIALIZED COMMITTEES DEALING WITH EACH BASKET. WITHOUT SUCH A MECHANISM THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION WILL REMAIN ON THE PLANE OF GENERALITIES AND THE SOVIETS COULD SIDESTEP ANY DETAILED DISCUSSIONS THROUGH PROPAGANDA DEVICES IN PLENARY.

THE SOVIETS DOUBTLESS WILL OPPOSE A REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION IN COMMITTEES, JUST AS THEY INITIALLY OPPOSED ESTABLISHMENT OF MANDATES AND COMMITTEES AT HELSINKI. BUT WE COULD CITE THE FINAL ACT'S CALL FOR A "THOROUGH" EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON IMPLEMENTATION AND ARGUE THAT A SINGLE ROUND OF SPEECHES IN PLENARY SESSION DOES NOT MEET THIS REQUIREMENT. WE CAN ALSO SUGGEST THAT COMMITTEES ARE ESSENTIAL TO ENSURE EXPEDITIOUS COMPLETION OF BELGRADE BUSINESS AND TO AVERT AN ENDLESS, STERILE AND QUASI-PUBLIC DISCUSSION IN PLENARY. COMMITTEE REVIEW SESSIONS SHOULD TAKE PLACE AFTER THE INITIAL DISCUSSION IN PLENARY SO AS NOT TO DETRACT ATTENTION FROM IT, AND SHOULD FOLLOW THE SAME SUBJECT-BY-SUBJECT APPROACH. THE COMMITTEES COULD CONSIDER NEW PROPOSALS REFERRED TO THEM BY THE PLENARY SESSION AFTER THEY DECIDE THAT THEIR REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION IS COMPLETE.

C) USE OF THE TIMING FACTOR: THE SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES CLEARLY WISH TO HAVE A SHORT AND HARMONIOUS BELGRADE MEETING. WE SHOULD CONSIDER HOW BEST TO USE THIS DESIRE TO OUR ADVANTAGE. IT WOULD SEEM IMPORTANT, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT ALL KEY PROCEDURAL MODALITIES FOR THE MAIN MEETING BE SETTLED BEFORE ADJOURNMENT OF THE PREPARATORY MEETING. WITH REGARD TO THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION, WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD INSIST THAT THE MAIN MEETING COMPLETE THE REVIEW BEFORE ANY FURTHER BUSINESS IS UNDERTAKEN. THE SEQUENCE IN WHICH THE FINAL ACT LISTS THE AGENDA TOPICS FOR BELGRADE SUPPORTS THIS POSITION.

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--THE FINAL ACT PROVIDES THAT THE MAIN MEETING WILL BE HELD "IN 1977." WE WILL WISH TO CONSIDER WHETHER CONTINUING THE MEETING INTO 1978 WILL BE TO OUR ADVANTAGE. SUCH A DEVELOPMENT COULD GREATLY EXPAND THE SCOPE OF THE MEETING, FOR BETTER OR FOR WORSE. WESTERN WILLINGNESS TO CARRY ON INTO 1978, WITH NO CLEAR ENDING DATE, COULD PROVIDE GREATER LEVERAGE FOR OBTAINING EASTERN CONCESSIONS AND RENDER IT DIFFICULT FOR THE SOVIETS TO STALL UNTIL THE END OF THE MEETING WITH NO PRACTICAL RESULTS. HOWEVER, LACK OF AN ESTABLISHED TIME LIMIT COULD PRODUCE A MEETING WHICH WOULD BE A RUNNING SORE IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS. WHATEVER OUR CONCLUSION, WE WOULD WISH TO EXPLOIT THE CLEAR SOVIET DESIRE TO END THE CONFERENCE QUICKLY.

D) OPEN MEETINGS: THIS IDEA HAS BEEN MENTIONED DURING OUR CONSULTATIONS. WHILE IT MIGHT BE DESIRABLE TO HAVE ALL BELGRADE MEETINGS HELD IN PUBLIC, THIS PROPOSITION CAN BE EXPECTED TO MEET STIFF SOVIET OPPOSITION. WE OPTED FOR CLOSED MEETINGS IN THE CSCE ITSELF BECAUSE WE

BELIEVED THE SOVIETS WOULD NEVER NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY IN PUBLIC. HOWEVER, WE DISCOVERED DURING THE CONFERENCE THAT THEY WOULD ALSO NOT NEGOTIATE IN FORMAL MEETINGS WITH ALL 35 DELEGATIONS PRESENT, WHETHER THEY WERE OPEN TO THE PUBLIC OR NOT.

--THE PROCEDURAL RULE ON OPEN AND CLOSED MEETINGS SAYS THAT THE INAUGURAL AND CLOSING SESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE SHOULD BE PUBLIC, AND THAT OTHERWISE MEETINGS SHOULD BE CLOSED UNLESS THERE IS CONSENSUS TO OPEN THEM. OUR INITIAL TACTICAL OBJECTIVE SHOULD THEREFORE BE TO OBTAIN AGREEMENT AT THE PREPARATORY MEETING THAT THE INITIAL PLENARY ROUND OF SPEECHES AT THE MAIN MEETING WILL CONSTITUTE THE "INAUGURAL SESSION" AND SHOULD THEREFORE, BY THE RULES OF PROCEDURE, BE OPEN. THE SAME DEVICE SHOULD BE SOUGHT FOR THE "CLOSING SESSION" AT THE END OF CONFIDENTIAL

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BELGRADE, DURING WHICH DELEGATIONS COULD SUMMARIZE THEIR VIEWS OF THE PROCEEDINGS. SHOULD IT PROVE IMPOSSIBLE TO GAIN SOVIET AGREEMENT TO SUCH OPEN MEETINGS, WESTERN DELEGATIONS COULD FOLLOW A LIBERAL BRIEFING POLICY WITH THE PRESS.

E) POLITICAL-LEVEL ATTENDANCE AT OPENING SESSION: THIS IS A BRITISH SUGGESTION UNDER WHICH AN UNDER SECRETARY OR OTHER POLITICAL-LEVEL OFFICIAL WOULD GO TO BELGRADE FOR THE OPENING ROUND OF DEBATE IN THE MAIN MEETING. THIS WOULD ENHANCE MAXIMUM PRESS AND PUBLIC ATTENTION AND CONVEY THE POLITICAL IMPORTANCE ATTACHED TO THE SUBJECT MATTER BY WESTERN COUNTRIES. IT COULD ALSO ENTAIL CERTAIN PROBLEMS, PERHAPS LEADING TO PUBLIC POSTURING AND THUS DETRACTING FROM A BUSINESSLIKE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION. WE BELIEVE THERE MAY ALSO BE A CASE FOR HOLDING IN RESERVE THE PROSPECT OF WESTERN POLITICAL-LEVEL SPEECHES AT THE CLOSING SESSION.

F) INCLUSION OF PARLIAMENTARIANS IN WESTERN DELEGATIONS: THIS IDEA WAS INCLUDED IN A RESOLUTION ON BELGRADE ADOPTED BY THE NORTH ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY. WE ANTICIPATE GREAT INTEREST FROM THE US CONGRESS AND WOULD BE INTERESTED IN THE VIEWS OF OUR ALLIES ON THIS IDEA.

G) REGULAR PRESS BRIEFINGS: THIS IDEA HAS ALREADY GAINED BROAD ACCEPTANCE AMONG NATO MEMBERS. DURING THE CSCE ONLY ONE DELEGATION HELD REGULAR PRESS BRIEFINGS,

WITH THE RESULT THAT THE PRESS WAS BADLY INFORMED AND DID NOT UNDERSTAND WHAT WAS GOING ON. UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES WE WILL WISH TO HAVE REGULAR PRESS BRIEFINGS BY WESTERN DELEGATIONS IN BELGRADE. WE WILL ALSO WISH TO

GIVE THE PRESS THE TEXTS OF KEY STATEMENTS AND INTERVENTIONS BY SENIOR WESTERN DELEGATES.

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H) COMMUNIQUE: WE BELIEVE THAT THE QUESTION OF A FINAL DOCUMENT OR COMMUNIQUE FOR THE BELGRADE MEETING SHOULD BE GIVEN CAREFUL CONSIDERATION. WE START FROM THE PREMISE THAT SOME DOCUMENT WILL BE CONSIDERED NECESSARY, IF ONLY TO RECORD THE FACT THAT THE MEETING WAS HELD AND TO SET OUT ANY DECISION TAKEN ON FURTHER MEETINGS. SHOULD ANY NEW PROPOSALS BE APPROVED IN BELGRADE, THESE WOULD ALSO HAVE TO BE RECORDED IN A DOCUMENT OF SOME KIND. AT THE SAME TIME, SINCE WE CONSIDER THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION TO BE THE CENTRAL FUNCTION OF THE BELGRADE MEETING, A FINAL DOCUMENT OR COMMUNIQUE SHOULD REFLECT THIS FACT, AND NOT BE DEVOTED EXCLUSIVELY TO NEW PROPOSALS AND FUTURE STEPS. WE SEE SEVERAL POSSIBILITIES:

(1) A NEGOTIATED SUMMARY OF THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION: THIS WOULD INDICATE AREAS OF PROGRESS AND POINT TO FIELDS WHERE FURTHER MOVEMENT WAS STILL REQUIRED. FINAL ACT PROVISIONS, BUT NOT SPECIFIC COUNTRIES, WOULD BE MENTIONED. IT PROBABLY WOULD PROVE DIFFICULT TO NEGOTIATE MUCH BEYOND A BLAND AND MEANINGLESS DOCUMENT. ON THE OTHER HAND, SOME AGREED FINAL APPRAISAL OF IMPLEMENTATION WOULD SEEM DESIRABLE TO DRIVE THE REVIEW AND TO KEEP PRESSURE ON THE SOVIETS TO CONTINUE IMPLEMENTATION PROGRESS DURING AND AFTER BELGRADE.

(2) A COMMUNIQUE INDICATING DIFFERING VIEWPOINTS ON IMPLEMENTATION: WHILE SUCH A COMMUNIQUE MIGHT SERVE OUR PURPOSES, SINCE IT WOULD CLEARLY DIFFERENTIATE BETWEEN WESTERN AND EASTERN EVALUATIONS OF IMPLEMENTATION, OUR EXPERIENCE IN CSCE LEADS US TO BELIEVE THAT SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTABLE TO MANY PARTICIPATING STATES SINCE IT WOULD EITHER IDENTIFY GROUPINGS OF STATES AND THUS VIOLATE THE FIRST CSCE RULE OF PROCEDURE, OR EACH STATE'S INDIVIDUAL POSITION WOULD HAVE TO BE REFLECTED IN THE COMMUNIQUE, WHICH DOES NOT APPEAR FEASIBLE.

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(3) APPEND TEXTS OF NATIONAL STATEMENTS: A THIRD POSSIBILITY WOULD BE TO APPEND THE TEXTS OF ALL OPENING

(AND/OR CLOSING)STATEMENTS TO THE FINAL DOCUMENT OR COMMUNIQUE, AND TO STATE THIS FACT IN THE DOCUMENT ITSELF. OUR VIEWS WOULD THUS BE INCLUDED AND ANY EASTERN EUROPEAN SEEING THE COMMUNIQUE WOULD ALSO BE ABLE TO SEE THE TEXTS OF OUR STATEMENTS. THIS APPROACH HAS THE EFFECT, HOWEVER, OF PRODUCING A COMMUNIQUE WHICH IS ONLY A 'COVERNOTE' AND

WHICH REFLECTS ONLY CONTESTING EAST-WEST VIEWS ON IMPLEMENTATION. IF ONLY OPENING STATEMENTS ARE ATTACHED, IT WILL BE THAT MUCH LESS NEWSWORTHY.

(4) COMBINATION OF NEGOTIATED COMMUNIQUE TEXT, ATTACHED NATIONAL STATEMENTS AND CLOSING SPEECHES BY SENIOR OFFICIALS: UNDER THIS SCHEME WE WOULD SEEK TO NEGOTIATE AN AGREED FINAL SUMMARY OF THE DISCUSSION DURING THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION,NOTING SUCH CONSENSUS AS CAN BE REACHED AND POSSIBLY INDICATING CONTRASTING VIEWS ON AREAS WHERE FURTHER PROGRESS IS NEEDED. TO MAINTAIN LEVERAGE FOR ACHIEVEMENT OF AN ACCEPTABLE NEGOTIATED COMMUNIQUE, WE COULD HOLD OPEN THE OPTION THAT EACH DELEGATION COULD SUBMIT A BRIEF STATEMENT OF ITS OWN TO BE ANNEXED TO THE COMMUNIQUE. WE COULD MAKE IT CLEAR THAT WE WOULD USE THIS OPTION IF THE COMMUNIQUE IS NOT SATISFACTORY. AS A SECOND ELEMENT OF LEVERAGE, WE COULD RESERVE THE RIGHT TO HAVE POLITICAL LEVEL OFFICIALS DELIVER CLOSING ORAL STATEMENTS AT THE END OF THE MAIN MEETING.

III. FURTHER NATO WORK

WE HOPE TO RECEIVE ALLIED REACTIONS TO THESE IDEAS PRIOR TO THE NEXT CSCE EXPERTS' SESSION, SO THAT THE DISCUSSION AMONG THE EXPERTS CAN MOVE TO A NEW LEVEL OF SPECIFICITY, AS IS APPROPRIATE IN VIEW OF THE APPROACH
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OF THE BELGRADE MEETINGS.

END TEXT

5. FYI: WE EXPECT TO BE PROVIDING FURTHER CONTRIBUTIONS TO NATO DISCUSSIONS AFTER THE NEW ADMINISTRATION TAKES OFFICE AND HAS AN OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW THIS ISSUE. END
FYI.

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